THE CRISIS.

NUMBER LVII. *To be continued Weekly,*

DURING THE PRESENT BLOODY CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.

SATURDAY, February 17, 1776, [Price Two-pence Halfpenny.

To the KING.

SIR,

WITH a Heart truly ſenſible of the many Bleſſings which the People of this Kingdom have enjoyed ever ſince the happy Acceſſion of your Family to the imperial Throne of theſe Realms; Bleſſings which were bequeathed to the preſent Generation pure and untainted, by your royal Predeceſſor. Permit one of the moſt faithful and moſt loyal of your Subjects, born in the great Capital of your Kingdom, and who had the Pleaſure to join in the loud Acclamations of a grateful People, when your Majeſty aſcended the Throne of your royal Grandfather, with all due Submiſſion to approach you, and to expoſtulate with your Majeſty on the various Cauſes which have contributed to damp that univerſal Spirit of Joy and Exultation, which diffuſed itſelf throughout your extenſive Dominions at that happy Period; and to account for the many diſagreeable Events which have ſince ariſen to diſturb your royal Breaſt; and to interrupt that Repoſe and Tranquility, you might expect to enjoy; after having terminated (but ſuffer me to

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ſay infamouſly and ingloriouſly) the moſt ſucceſsful War, that was ever carried on by this or any other Kingdom, a War that muſt have humbled in the Duſt (had it continued but one Year longer) the old inveterate enemies of this your native Kingdom.

No Expreſſion ſhall be found in this Remonſtrance to wound the Ear of Majeſty, nor ſhall one unfavourable Sentiment tending to infringe on the juſt Prerogatives of the Crown, or to leſſen the Dignity of Government, eſcape me,---but at the ſame Time I will be bold enough to aſſert and maintain ſuch Truths, as a *good* King will ever liſten to with Attention, and with no other Emotion, than ſuch as may proceed from a firm, ſpirited Reſolution to remove from his Councils, and from the Adminiſtration of Government every ſet of Men, without *exception*, however dignified, diſtinguiſh-guiſhed or *allied*, through whoſe Inability, Venality and Servility, the Fame and Honour of Great Britain has been ſullied on the CONTINENT, by whom the Revenues of this Kingdom have been exhauſted and brought into ſuch a deplorable Situation, as to endanger that very delicate Fouudation PUBLIC CREDIT, on which is built the Power, commercial Strength, Riches and Happineſs of your Dominions. By whoſe daſtardly and imbecile Conduct, Faction and its conſtant attendant Corruption, has riſen to ſuch a Height, that you Sir, have been under the Neceſſity of leſſening yourſelf in the Eyes of your whole People, by ſubmitting to diſgraceful mercenary Propoſals from different Parties, who have boldly ſeized the Reins of Government for a ſhort Time, with the ſole View of extorting from your Majeſty ſuch Penſions and Reverſions, in Caſe of Removal, as argued at once a conſcious Inability to continue long in Office, and a premeditated Reſolution to have as large a Share as poſſible, in the Plunder of an almoſt ruined Country,---by whom every rapacious Dependant on your contending Courtiers, has been amply provided for, at the Public expence----who have dared on every Occaſion to make uſe of the royal Name as a Sanction for every illegal and unconſtitutional Meaſure, and have preſumed to expreſs an Approbation, *you* could never give of a moſt unwarrantable, and cruel Exertion of the *Military Power*, againſt your innocent Subjects; ſuch an Exertion as would have entitled the Offenders to condign Puniſhment, in many States which are ſtiled abſolute, deſpotic Monarchies, as I ſhall ſoon convince you in the ſequel of this Remonſtrance; from recent Inſtances,---who have ſpread Conſternation, Terror and Diſmay through the Land, Violating the moſt ſacred Rights of the People,

People, interrupting the Freedom of Elections, rendering the Attendance of the Freeholders dangerous to their Persons, ransacking the Coffers of Public Trading Companies, to supply the Deficiencies from a Mismanagement of the public Revenues, in a Word,---who have withheld from you Sir, the true State of the Nation, and have construed every Complaint, every modest Representation of the Subjects, both at Home and in the Colonies, against the arbitrary, and oppressive Measures of an unstable, wicked Administration into Sedition; and every Defence of their Rights and Properties against the Exertion of lawless Power (sanctified in the Name of Majesty) into overt Acts of REBELLION till they have at length roused the public Spirit of the People throughout your whole Dominions; the Alarm is become general; the Constitution of the Kingdom is now deemed at a CRISIS, and if your royal Name is still made use of to stamp an Authority on public Measures, diametrically opposite to the Welfare of the Nation, the Consequences must prove fatal to both.

Sir, wonder not, that I have preferred the Stile of Remonstrance to that of Petition; having no private Favour to ask, I have presumed to consider your Majesty as a Man, endued with a rational Soul, capable of distinguishing, between sound Reasoning, and artful Sophistry; such a Mode of Expostulation therefore, as might be persued in Conversation by a modest Dependant, or an affable, generous Patron, seemed to me the most eligible for conveying my Sentiments with manly Firmness, and to enable me to steer clear of that abject Submission, and disgustful Adulation which debases almost every Address that is offered to Sovereigns.

I shall therefore, Sir, take the Liberty to represent to you, that under the several Administrations which have governed this Kingdom, from your Accession to the present Hour, some one or more of the enumerated Evils already delineated, have taken Place, and that they seem to be all gathering to a Head under the present Ministry: and as it cannot be consistent either with your Honour or your Interest, to suffer universal Discontent, popular Animosity, and CIVIL WAR to be kept alive in your Dominions, let me advise you to effect that by their Removal, which all the military Force of this Kingdom, with the superaided rigour of penal Laws, will never accomplish; I mean the Restoration of Harmony, Unanimity, and

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zealous Attachment to your Perſon and Government. Be aſſured, Sir, whenever under a Prince, bleſſed with native Goodneſs of Heart, and a benign Diſpoſition, the People feel the Weight of an undue Exertion of the royal Prerogative, they will naturally aſcribe it to miniſterial Influence, and in ſpite of every Exertion of the military Power, they will loudly and inceſſantly exclaim againſt ſuch Influence, nor will they deſiſt, till their Complaints are liſtened to, and their Grievances redreſſed by a total Change of Men and Meaſures.

Forbid it Heaven, that you Sir, who ought to be the political Father of your People, born and educated among us, ſhould be any longer accuſed in our Streets, or inſulted at our public Spectacles, for a ſuppoſed Tolleration of, or Connivance at the arbitrary Principles and deſtructive Practices of your Miniſters; or that your Subjects ſhould tremble with the Apprehenſion that large Strides are making towards a State of SLAVERY, or a ſervile Dependance on Miniſters, and their Tools; under their native Prince, which was never experienced in the Reigns of thoſe Kings who were born and educated in a foreign Land, and who openly avowed the moſt deſpotic Principles. Let it never be believed Sir, that you will of your royal Motion, give Orders to puniſh with Fines, Impriſonment, inquiſitorial Perſecution, Fire and Sword, every innocent Subject, who ſhall dare to aſſert his native Freedom and Independence, in Oppoſition to weak, or wicked Miniſters.

Your People Sir, are not diſpoſed to judge from Appearance, they expect to ſee a full diſplay of thoſe political Virtues which conſtitute the Character of a great King: in expectation of this happy Event, they patiently wait, and *paſſively* ſubmit, reſting aſſured you will be inſpired with a ſpeedy and juſt Abhorrence of thoſe Men, who firſt ſpread Murmur and Diſcontent through the Realm? and covered the Land with BLOOD; a Miniſtry, whoſe Weakneſs, Cowardice, and Cruelty, whether they are conſidered ſeparately in their reſpective Departments, or collectively in a Body as an Adminiſtration, is not to be paralleled in the Records of the Hiſtory of England.

Let us now great Sir, turn our Eyes from this diſgraceful Picture of the Times, the odium of which your Miniſtry in vain endeavour

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to fix on the People, ſince their Lives and Converſation alone ſtamp a Character in the Manners of the Nation, and examine with Attention, the Characteriſtics of a ſound permanent Adminiſtration, as they are deſcribed to us by the beſt political Writers, and take ſome one or other, or all of your preſent Miniſtry by the Hand, while we make this fair Scrutiny.

" The Adminiſtration of public Affairs, in a limited Monarchy, ſuch as England, ought to be committed to ſeveral Men, illuſtrious by Birth and Education, poſſeſſed of ample Fortunes as collateral Security for their Integrity and Incorruptibility, of virtuous, unſullied Characters, and arrived to ſuch a Period of Life, that experience may have matured early acquired political knowledge: ſuch may be found in every State, and muſt be choſen independent of all Regard to Family Connections, or party Leagues.---Such a ſelect Band of great and able Men jointly engaged in one Adminiſtration, with any preponderating Weight thrown into the Scale of the chief of any Department; and acting independent of one another in their different Stations, though with mutual Confidence at the Council Board is the only Model of Government ſuited to the Legiſlature, and to the very Genius of the Engliſh Nation.

Miniſters on ſuch a Plan are a mutual Check on each other, each of them has his diſtinct ſet of Adherents, but his principal Support muſt be, the Character he bears in his Country. -------Such a Miniſtry muſt act upon popular Princples, for it is built upon the only Baſis likely to ſecure the People's Affection, and to render it permanent, the juſt Fame ſuch a Miniſtry muſt acquire, will ſet them above every fooliſh Temptation of Pageant Honours, of Power, or Wealth, if to be purchaſed only by making a Sacrifice of their Character. In ſhort, as Example is more efficacious, and has more Authority than the rigorous Exertion of penal Laws, or even military Execution, the People being animated by the pious Character of their Sovereign, exhibited, not only in his own private Life, but in his public Capacity, by the prudent Choice of his Miniſters; all Ranks of Men would come into the Faſhion of leading virtuous lives, the Scale would preponderate in Favour of Morality, there would be

be little or no Temptation to Bribery and Corruption, Men being choſen to high Offices for their Virtues and Abilities, would not be neceſſitated to ſupport themſelves in them by ſuch low Means: the Law would have leſs Occaſion for Officers, Executioners, Gibbets, Proſcriptions, and Outlawries to enforce its Decrees, and the Empire of Love and Reaſon would be univerſal throughout the Britiſh Dominions. I ſhall here leave your Majeſty for the preſent. I find the ſenſible Pleaſure which this Repreſentation has given you; it ill becomes me to interrupt your important Meditations on this pleaſing Scene, and the leſs ſo, as I muſt demonſtrate to your Majeſty that Birth and Education miſapplied alone excepted, your preſent Miniſtry cannot find one ſingle Qualification to which they can put in a juſt Claim. ---I therefore quit the Subject till a more favourable Opportunity offers of reſuming it.

BRUTUS.

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